BOUSFIELD

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis

CONFLICT OF FEARS IN INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Submitted By

Weston Ashmore Bousfield

(B.M.E., Northeastern, 1927)

In partial fulfillment of requirements for

the degree of Master of Arts

1928

Labor & laboring classes-U.S.
"
Fear
"
Series

July 1929
-p 5348

CONTENTS.

III. Fears of the Worker

B. Responses

IV. Fears of the Employer

A. Stimuli

B. Responses

CONTENTS

Contents (continued).

OUTLINE.

I. INTRODUCTION.
  A. The present Industrial situation.
    1. New interest in Labor difficulties.
    2. Need of intelligent understanding.
  B. The Purpose of the Thesis.
  C. Sources of Material.

II. GENESIS OF FEAR.
  A. Definition of Fear.
  B. Development of Fear Responses.
    1. Fears of Infants.
    2. Conditioned Fears.
  C. Instinctive aspects of Fear.
  D. Effects of Fear on the Organism.
    1. Physiological Changes.
    2. Changes in Mental Processes.
  E. Close Relationship of Fear and Other Emotional Processes.
    1. Ambivalence.
      a. Primary
      b. Secondary
    2. Association of Fear with Inferiority.
    3. Responses determined by confidence.
  F. Fear acts as both Stimulus and Response.

III. FEARS OF THE WORKER.

- A. Stimuli.
    - 1. Loss of Status and Feeling of Worth.
        - a. Dependence on Recognition.
        - b. Fear of an agency threatening feeeling of worth.
        - c. Conflict between prestige and self-assertion.
    - 2. The Fear of Joblessness.
        - a. Importance emphasized by Whiting Williams.
        - b. Fear common to both Employed and Unemployed.
        - c. Consequences of joblessness.
        - d. Reference to Devine, Tead, and Dunn.
        - e. Experience with a Paint Shop Foreman.
        - f. Devitalizing effects of the fear of joblessness.
    - 3. The Driver Foreman.
        - a. The Foreman is the "Company".
        - b. Psychology of the Foreman.
        - c. Harsh Treatment of the Workers.
        - d. Possibility of either Destructive of Constructive Influence.
    - 4. Unfair Treatment.
        - a. Violations of Ethical Principles.
        - b. Feeling of Insecurity.
        - c. Typical example quoted from Frost.
        - d. Prevalence in Various Branches of Industry.

5. Physical Conditions.
    a. Lowering of the Threshold of Stimulation.
    b. Discussion of Occupation Neuroses by Dr. Mills.
    c. The Worker's main Asset is his Health.
    d. Results of Fatigue.
    e. Desire for Insurance Against Days of Unproductivity.

B. Responses.
    1. Distrust and Hostility.
        a. Distinction between Motive and Intention.
        b. The Power of Conditioning.
        c. Hostility between Workers Themselves.
        d. Influence of Fear on Collective Action.
        e. Wide Prevalence of Distrust and Hostility.
    2. Character of Production.
        a. Voluntary and Involuntary Restrictions due to Fear.
        b. Relation of Cause and Effect.
        c. Wide Extent of Union Restrictions.
        d. Restriction on Output sometimes Inevitable in the case of Individual Workers.
        e. Production affected by Vitality which is Lowered because of Fear.
        f. Deliberate Spoiling of Output.
    3. Collective Action.
        a. Possibility of Highly Organized Defense Mechanisms.
        b. Pressure on Labor Leaders for Results.

        - d. Quotation from Drew on the Evils of the Closed Shop.
    - 4. Collective Action of the Workers.
        - a. The Effectiveness of Collective Action.
        - b. Abuse of Power in Collective Action.
        - c. The Radical Labor Leader.
        - d. Blindness with which Workers Follow their Leaders.
        - e. Unwarranted Sympathy bestowed on Organized Labor.
        - f. Disregard of the Public Welfare.
- B. Responses.
    - 1. Use of Repressive Measures.
        - a. Advantages of Greater Resources in Offensive Action against Labor.
        - b. Possibility of Alienating Sympathy from the Workers.
        - c. Illustrations in the Activities of the Coal Operators against Miners' Unions.
        - d. Use of Unjunctions.
        - e. Variety of Agencies used Against Labor.
    - 2. Use of the Spy System.
        - a. Studies of Sidney Howard.
        - b. Extensivensss of Espionage.
        - c. Psychological Appeals to the Employer.
        - d. Underhanded Activities of Spies.
        - e. Encouragement of Violence.

I.

INTRODUCTION.

> "A large part of human activity is due to fear. Working men are afraid of being poor and for this reason they form unions and strike. If they are strong enough the employers fear their business will be interfered with and sometimes settle the strike. They are likewise afraid they will not make as much money as they wish, and sometimes resist the strikes. The states pass penal statutes to scare people into virtue. Altogether, fear is a very important thing in life, and probably the greatest enemy of man." *

The new interest in labor difficulties and the complex human problems of industry is a significant and favorable manifestation of the present day. Along the trail beaten by Carlton Parker and his disciples are travelling many conscientious students who are stimulated by the desire to see peace where we now have strife, and understanding where we now have misunderstanding. Indications may be seen that these efforts have not been in vain, and an attempt is being made by many labor leaders and employers to apply, inasfar as possible, the plan of co-operation and mutual consideration. Thus we see a picture, illuminated in places with worthy efforts. But on the other hand, there are dark and ominous indications of misunderstanding and hatred. Great organizations of labor and capital are swayed by the emotion of fear, so that an attitude of militancy develops

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* A statement made by Clarence Darrow in reply to a letter requesting his opinion on the prevalence of fear as a motivating principle.

instead of peace. In boycotts, lockouts, strikes, and sometimes violence, fear acts as a poison to stimulate jealousy and suspicion. Fear is present in the less noticeable, individual problems of workers and their employers, showing its effect in open or suppressed hostility and inefficiency. There are few complications which do not show the presence of fear in some of its ugly forms.

The purpose of this thesis is to study the influence of fear as it acts to complicate labor difficulties, and to give an explanation of the way in which it acts. To do this justly and impartially it is necessary to withhold sympathy, and to criticize both workers and employers without discrimination. Only by so doing will it be possible to draw unbiased conclusions and attempt constructive suggestions.

In attempting to show the influence of fear in the complex problems of industrial relations, the writer realizes that the isolation of a single emotion will make impossible an adequate consideration of the many other psychological factors which unite in varying proportions to hinder the peaceful co-operation of Labor and Capital. The effect of fear is of great importance in some cases, and in others it plays a minor role, but the fact that this emotion is one of the basic causes of no small number of industrial conflicts would seem a sufficient reason to delimit the study of this factor apart from other impulses and traits of human nature.

The material used is based on correspondence, circulars,

magazines, books, and my own limited industrial experience of five summers working as a painter, steam-fitter's helper, fireman, and laborer in an artificial ice plant. I have received valuable suggestions through the kindness of Clarence Darrow, Harry Laidler, Ordway Tead, and Whiting Williams. They have courteously answered my letters, and it is a matter of considerable pride to quote their opinions in parts of the thesis.

In explaining the psychology of fear an attempt is made to formulate certain principles which apply to the subject being considered. Stress is laid on the close relationship of anger to fear, for the two emotions exert considerable force through their ambivalence. The problems presented by industrial complications contain fear and anger to the extent that it is impossible to consider one without the other.

II.

GENESIS OF FEAR.

A classical definition of fear is given by G. Stanley Hall: [1] "Fear is the anticipation of pain. For those forms of life capable of fear, this anticipation is not prevision, but only a highly generalized fore-feeling, itself unpleasant, that a yet more painful state impends." It is an instinctive response of the whole organism and includes mental as well as physical suffering. As an instinctive response it is necessary for self-preservation. Williams points out, [2] "In itself it is therefore not morbid. It is morbid only when inappropriate to the situation which provokes it."

Fear is one of the oldest, strongest, and most troublesome emotions, and one of the first to appear. Watson's experiments with infants [3] show that responses which may be interpreted as fear can be elicited shortly after birth. Loud, harsh sounds, and loss of support, especially when the body is not set to compensate for it, cause momentary checking of the breath, a start of the whole body, crying, and marked visceral changes. These are originally adequate stimuli to what may be considered the fear response, and there are good reasons to believe that most of the fears of the child, adolescent, and adult are built up

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1. G. Stanley Hall: "A Synthetic Genetic Study of Fear." Am. Journal of Psychol., vol. 25, p. 149.
2. Tom A. Williams: Dreads and Besetting Fears, p. 1 .
3. John B. Watson: Behaviorism, p. 121.

by the process of conditioning. An example from the experiments of Watson will illustrate a simple form of the process. [4]A baby was shown a white rat and there was no sign of fear. The rat was exhibited again, but at the same time an iron bar was struck. This time there was the natural fear response to the loud noise. By repeating the combined stimulation, the fear reaction was ultimately elicited by the rat alone. In the same way it was possible to cause fear of toys, flowers, the experimenter, or any object which was originally incapable of arousing the response.

It is through the process of conditioning that the fear reactions with the varying degrees of emotional release become attached to countless stimuli, some of them inherently dangerous, but most of them not. What stimuli produce fear depend largely on the process of conditioning to which the individual is subjected. It may be here stated that the laborers and workers as a class are often victims of peculiar conditioning; the same is also true of employers.

It appears safe to conclude that the response of fear in anticipation of pain includes the possible thwarting of an instinctive tendency, or the hindering of a response which has been conditioned. This statement may be defended on the ground that it does not do violence to any recognized definition of instinct, and it is consistent with the results of observations. The main difficulty encountered in isolating the instinctive tendencies involved is that the instinctive elements rarely

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4. John B. Watson: Ibid., pp. 126-127.

manifest themselves separately, but tend to occur in complex combinations. Our fear of joblessness, for instance, does not merely anticipate the curbing of impulses connected with self-preservation, but involves thwarting, at least to a certain degree, of the normal expression of sex, gregariousness, and parental activies.

Fear is sometimes thought of as concerning only the welfare of the individual, and involving only pain in a purely physical sense. It must be admitted that many fear responses which appear to be for the safety of others may be reduced to purely individual and personal terms. Thus it might be said that a parent's fear for the child occurs because the child is regarded as a future possibility of support. These arguments are certainly sometimes valid, but there are two objections which may be raised against their universal application: first, they are often purely a matter of supposition or are very vague; secondly, there are fears for the welfare of others which cannot be consistently reduced to purely individual terms. By explaining fear so as to include the anticipation of the thwarting of instinctive or conditioned activity, such cases as have been referred to may be reasonably explained.

The response of fear involves the whole organism though in some cases the mental symptoms appear to outweigh the physical or vice versa. A great deal depends on what is feared and the degree or intensity of the emotional discharge, but as Walsh says, [5]"It influences body and mind more than any other emotion,

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[5] W. S. Walsh: The Mastery of Fear , p. 14.

and there is no function, conscious or unconscious, that may not be modified by it. The unconscious, or automatic activities are most subject to its excitations." Among the physical manifestations of fear, especially when aroused by immediate objects or situations [6] are marked changes in digestive and assimilative functions. The glandular activity in the alimentary canal is inhibited. There is a contraction of the muscles of the head, face, trunk, and limbs causing a furrowed brow, flexion of the arms, hands and knees, and a general appearance usually quite opposite to that of courage. The heart beat is accelerated and strengthened so that the blood pressure rises, stimulation of the ductless glands as the thyroid and adrenals prepare the blood for emergency action of escape.

The changes in the functioning of the mind are peculiar. There is a narrowing of the field of consciousness which on one hand destroys logical thinking and rational thought; but on the other hand, produces an unusual keenness of observation of every detail of the object or situation producing the response.

The most common variety of fear does not produce reactions as severe as those which have been described. Intense states are usually rare and of short duration. Most fears take the form of worry, often chronic and subdued; this is especially true of the workers. Occasionally a new situation enhances this emotion, but ordinarily some adjustment can be made to overcome the severer feelings. Since the expression of fear

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6. W. B. Cannon: <u>Bodily Changes in Pain, Hunger, Fear and Rage</u>, pp. 1-65

would seem to be an admission of inferiority, there is an attempt to cover it up with exaggerated self-assertiveness. The effects of a chronic state of fear are none the less severe, however, in the general state of inefficiency which results. In the words of Walsh, the following process may take place: [7]"As a consequence of chronic fear the organs are moderately stimulated at first. This produces an on-edge feeling, a feeling of physical and mental tension ... Stimulation later gives way to depression, owing to the inability of the organs to stand the constant drain upon them ... The thoughts become cloudy, mental ability grows less. There follow fatigue, languor, apathy for work, pains and aches of various kinds. Finally, unless the emotion is checked, the mental and physical disorganization is so pronounced that the sufferer is labelled neurasthenic." The resulting condition fulfills the description of what Myerson [8]calls "anhedonia".

A better understanding is obtained of the action of fear when it is realized that there is a close relation to other emotions, so that the law of ambivalence may be seen in action. This law is stated by G. Stanley Hall, [9]"Any emotion may pass over into its opposite, which latter then becomes the stronger because of the preceding antithetical state." Several examples may be given to illustrate. The most important case is the

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7. W. S. Walsh: <u>The Mastery of Fear</u>, p. 30.
8. Abraham Myerson: <u>When Life Loses Its Zest</u>.
9. G. Stanley Hall: "A Synthetic Genetic Study of Fear." <u>Am. Jour. of Psychol</u>., vol. 25, p. 154.

fluctuation between fear and anger. In either state the opposite furnishes reinforcement. The often spoken of "courage of desperation" has furnished many surprises because of its violence, and it is quite likely that the destruction and sabotage wrought by striking workmen have been in many cases reinforced by the intensifying element of fear. As Hall says, "We always fear what we fight, and would fight what we fear."

Fear and anger are so closely related that they may be said to illustrate primary ambivalence. There are other states, involving a compound of emotions, which are related to fear, but in a less direct manner. These may be said to represent secondary ambivalence.

There is an oscillation between fear and hope. The relation between the two states is quite pronounced as chances of success alternate with those of failure.

Secondary ambivalence is again illustrated in the relation between fear and the general state of confidence and well being known as pride. This state accompanies the feeling of worth, and it is a purpose of this paper to show that the feeling of worth is vitally connected with the job. Hayes says, [10] "In too many cases fear is still appealed to where pride could and should be used, and industry as a whole, never the offender alone, pays the penalty of increased suspicion and distrust."

During the summer of 1927 I was employed as a steam-fitter's

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[10] Joseph W. Hayes: "I-Spy" in Industry. Colliers, Nov.12,1921.

helper. A new turbine and a new boiler had been installed in a power house, and it was necessary to change a large amount of the old steam piping to accommodate the additional equipment. It was my privilege to become well acquainted with the men employed on the job and to observe the development of a situation which may serve as an example of what appears to be a very prevalent condition.

The head steam-fitter, who was my boss, and who was regularly employed by the institution owning the new equipment, was not put in charge of the job. Furthermore, he was not certain whether or not his services would be desired in the future. The man had been employed for a long period to time, and a change would be exceedingly hard to make. Under conditions such as these, it was inevitable that the man should be afraid of his superiors and afraid of losing his job. If he had been questioned concerning his fear, he would have considered himself insulted. The observable reactions were almost entirely in the form of anger. The admission of fear is associated with inferiority, for it involves or is thought to involve an acknowledgment of power which is superior to that possessed by the individual. If there is an instinct of self-assertion the admission of fear is opposed to it. As a result the workers usually admit only anger and resentment toward those who cause them to fear.

It appears safe to conclude that the hostility of workers which is commonly observed has a substantial background of fear.

The close relation of fear and anger, in spite of their objective differences, is supported by the fact which Woodworth states concerning the relation of the two emotions now being considered: [11] "The adjustments are very different, but the organic states are much alike." Furthermore, "In behavior terms, emotion is an organic state, and impulse an adjustment of the nerve centers towards a certain reaction." Fear means an impulse to escape, and anger an impulse to attack. An explanation of the differences in impulse may be found in states of confidence or lack of confidence. The steps in a fear or anger stimulating situation would be as follows:

1. Presentation of a situation.
2. Interpretation of the situation as a noxious stimulus of certain characteristics.
3. (a) An Indosomatic adjustment of the organism for action.
   (b) An impulse to action of a certain type depending on the observed characteristics of the situation and the degree of confidence felt in the ability to meet it.

Confidence in the effectiveness of offensive action leads to anger responses and the impulse to attack. Lark of confidence in offensive action leads to fear responses and the impulse to escape. Indecision leads to both anger and fear responses depending on the immediate changes in the environment,

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[11] Robert S. Woodworth: Psychology, a Study of Mental Life, p. 131.

or the action of the outside pressure. In certain cases indecision produces paralysis.

In the difficulties of the workers, outside pressure is often the deciding factor of what the ultimate reaction will be. A man may refuse to strike because his doing so will bring discharge; and if he is discharged there is no other job he is capable of holding, which means poverty and destitution for the family. Another man will strike because he does not wish to bring the ill omened name of "scab" on himself or his family at any cost. In reality fear was operating in both cases, but one had more confidence in striking than the other as a means of promoting his best interests.

In considering stimuli and responses of fear in the relations of employers and employees, it becomes very evident that the fear response of one group becomes the fear stimulus to the other. Another observable phenomenon is the fact that the reaction of fear in a group becomes a stimulus for further responses of fear in the same group. Social projection, social facilitation, and the impression of universality may be observed in action, especially in the activities of the labor crowd.

To strictly classify the fear stimuli and responses would be impossible, but consideration will be given to the different factors separately according to the most distinguishing characteristics, bearing in mind that the different conditions do not appear separately but in more or less complex relationships.

III.

FEARS OF THE WORKER.

A. Stimuli.

1. Loss of Status and Feeling of Worth.

The dependency of the feeling of worth on the status or position of the worker in the great hierarchy of job values is so close that the two factors may well be considered together. Probably more than any other writer, Whiting Williams has emphasized the wish for worth as a mainspring of action, and has pointed to the conditions surrounding the job which determine the worker's sense of his own value. The feeling of worthwhileness and importance which any man may experience depends on the recognition received in the shop and in the neighborhood. A step upward to a better position brings with it increased respect and a new circle of friends, while a demotion lessens a man's confidence in himself and bars him from his former social standing. Because of the consequences involved, it is evident that a condition so devastating to a man's dignity and respect may be greatly feared. Furthermore, any agency which threatens prestige and standing becomes also an object of fear, and is likely to be hated. The importance of the various fear stimuli and responses which will be discussed is due in a large measure to their relation to loss of status and feeling of worth.

This wish to appear worthwhile in the eyes of the world fre-

quently leads to a peculiar and serious type of complex. The galling sensation of being compelled to submit to slighting remarks and abuse of a superior in order to hold a job opposes the normal desire for self-assertion. On the other hand, a bold declaration of rights followed by demotion or discharge may deprive a man of the income necessary to maintain his standard of living. Just how prevalent is this complex it is difficult to say, but there are indications that it is present in all walks of life, and especially among the workers who often hold their jobs only as long as they meet the approval of a single boss. Sometimes the feeling of resentment overpowers the willingness to submit, and the anger response which follows shows how great was the hate and fear which led up to it. Tead significantly refers to this matter in his comments on the instinct of self-assertion: [12]"Despite their reputation for docility and meekness, it is inevitable that our southern and eastern European immigrant workers should occasionally belie their reputation and participate in a brave frenzy of self-assertion. The whole atmosphere of our country, with its aggressiveness and individualism coupled with the fact of their exploitation, tends to rouse these workers to demonstrate in blind, eager, and intense ways that they are not pack-animals but human beings." That these people should risk joblessness in spite of the narrow margin on which they live is evidence

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12. Ordway Tead: <u>Instincts in Industry</u>, pp. 88-89.

of the strong desire to be respected, which is fortunately present even in the humbler walks of life. This illustration and many others which could be given show that the fear of inferiority and loss of status is aroused by opposing interests. On one hand is the desire to appear important in the estimation of friends and family, while on the other hand offenses against personal dignity by those in authority brings a strong impulse to retaliate. The worker may fear the results of a lost job because it affects his standing in the community, but he also may fear the humiliation and contempt of subservience. It may be seen that these fears are complex, but the results are not diminished by their complication.

2. The Fear of Joblessness.

It was my privilege to attend a lecture given by Whiting Williams in the Old South Church, November 10, 1927. In the course of the address, he made the following statement which expresses the importance of the fear of joblessness very clearly: "We can never understand the worker's state of mind unless we understand the fear of joblessness." The speaker had donned the overalls of the laborer and had attempted to live the life of a common workman in steel-plants, coal mines, shipyards, and round-houses, consequently it was with some authority that he quoted from his writings: [13] "The most important factor of all

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[13] Whiting Williams: What's on the Workers' Mind, p. 202.

in the life of the wage worker is the job - the daily job. For him the day commences with the breathing of the prayer, 'give me this day my daily job.' That is the only way in which the daily bread may be spelled with satisfaction and contentment, in a civilization organized for the mass production required for meeting a fast-moving world's mass needs.

"It almost makes me shiver with the cold of these winter mornings before the great factory gates when I think of the heart-sick dejection, the demoralizing loss of standing as a man, and the paralyzing fear of the bread line which fill the mind and soul of the man who after days of seeking has no job and knows not where to find one."

This fear is not confined to thejobless man, for the danger of losing the valued possession once it has been obtained leads to an anxiety which affects both the employed worker and the quality of his production in a material way. An example of this is taken from the author just quoted: [14]"Yes, our wages here are nearly twice the regular rates in our line o' work - we get the highest pay of any railroad men in the world," confided a certain group of employees recently. "But we'll give you ten dollars a head for every man you can find amongst us who isn't swearing mad at the company. The reason? -- Why, you see, we've got no 'conditions'. Not one of us but can be fired tomorrow! Not a syllable of contract, as to what we do or how -- or who

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[14] Whiting Williams: Mainsprings of Men, p. 88.

gets laid off first and all that! Everything depends on the kind of foreman we happen to get. It's awful! "

The reasons for the far-reaching effects of this fear become evident when the consequences of joblessness are considered. It would be difficult to find a fundamental urge of any kind which is not in some way tied up in the job. The anticipation of unemployment is the strongest drive which poorly handled labor experiences, and it is not surprising that among the first fruits of collective action are attempts toward securing the stability of employment desired. Only when this primary desire is taken care of is it possible for men to devote their fullest attention to the constructive enterprises which are now becoming evident.

It has been my privilege to become acquainted with Whiting Williams, and the stress which I am making on the fear of joblessness may reflect the feelings of this man who has attempted inasfar as possible to live and experience the life of the common worker. I have quoted from his speech, from his book Mainsprings of Men, and it will not be out of place to quote from a letter which I have recently received. In part it reads as follows:

"I'm happy to repeat the statement often made in my talks - that the misery of unemployment causes more bitterness and radicalism than all other causes put together and that hence the fear of joblessness is largely accountable for the stringing out of the work or loafing, the formation of unions,

and many other phases of industrial maladjustment."

It is not surprising that Edward Devine describes at length the devastating effects of joblessness in his instructive book, Misery and Its Causes. Ordway Tead makes frequent references to this fear in his Instincts In Industry, and Robert Dunn pictures its consequences in his discussions of The Americanization of Labor. During my brief industrial experience as a painter and a steam-fitter's helper it was frequently possible to note the presence and effects of the fear of joblessness not only in the workmen but in myself as well. The first occasion of difficulty with the foremen of the paint shop comes back with an unpleasant vividness, - "There are plenty more waiting to take your place, young fellow. Better get a move on." At that time the keeping of the job was my only available means to enter college that year. When the same foreman was finally discharged one of his men declared with pardonable enthusiasm that he was "gaining weight since the ______ foreman got the bounce."

There is an "on edge feeling", an atmosphere of suspense resulting from the fear of discharge, which only those who have sensed it can understand. The physical effects of this state have already been described and the unhealthy mentality of those who experience it in a marked degree, therefore it is not surprising that my friend, the worker, gained weight, and that the morale of the whole paint shop improved when a "white man" was promoted to the position of responsibility.

A significant evidence of the fear of joblessness is dis-

cussed by Tead [15] in his consideration of the instinct of self-assertion. There is manifested a sometimes conspicuous lack of aggressiveness, a failure to display the normal amount of freedom and confidence. Too many "yes sirs" and "is this all right sirs?" tend to indicate that something is wrong and that something is being suppressed. The pitiable feature of this state is that it is the cause of contempt which results in even greater domination and threats.

It would be possible to compose a thesis on the fear of joblessness alone, and it is unfortunate that it is necessary to limit this discussion.

3. The Driver Foreman.

Regardless of the general policies which any employer may attempt to put into practice in his plant, the final responsibility for their operation depends largely on the officials who are directly in contact with the workers. For the great mass of those who tend the individual machines or work with the pick and shovel, the foreman is the company. The power frequently granted this official and the freedom of its use make the "driver foreman" a unique instrument of fear. As Tead and Metcalf have explained, [16] he is the product of a peculiar combination of conditions. Usually he has risen from the ranks by means of superior energy and ability. An attitude of contempt creeps in for his less energetic fellow workers, and as a result he exercises his authority in a domineering, autocratic

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[15] Ordway Tead: Instincts in Industry, pp. 86-112.
[16] Tead and Metcalf: Personnel Administration, pp. 167-184.

manner. This condition may be aggravated by the lack of education, which means that his ability to get results tends to depend on the exerting of pressure rather than careful planning of details. It is not surprising that a chronic state of mutual suspicion and fear may result, in which both the foreman and the workers try to get as much as possible without giving a fair return.

The absolute power to hire and fire makes possible numerous abuses ranging from bullying to unquestionable exploitation. Both Tead and Williams give numerous examples of unnecessary harsh treatment given workers by these representatives of the company. The practice of appropriating credit, of continuous bullying and scolding, of threatening discharge, of producing false incriminating evidence against a worker, of showing unnecessary partiality, of demanding subservience, of taking bribes, and many other harsh as well as unjust demonstrations, tend to show that the workers may be victimized to an extent unfavorable to normal health and strength.

The problem of foremanship deserves special consideration because the position often allows both constructive and destructive influence, independent of restraining authority. The foreman is pressed from above for efficiency and production, consequently he seeks to obtain it through what appear to him the most effective means. His training and experience predispose him to use fear, and the temporary results justify in his eyes repeated use.

4. Unfair Treatment.

Consideration will be given here to the methods sometimes used by employers in direct violation of justice and ethical principles. There are two characteristics of such stimuli to fear which operate together in a peculiarly destructive manner: in the first place, the disregard of fairness means the taking of an unjust advantage; and secondly, an atmosphere of insecurity is created. The factor of uncertainty deserves special note because it allows the imagination of the worker to create all kinds of pictures of the future possibilities. The employer has taken advantage of his men in the past, and what is there to prevent him from doing it again in the future, perhaps to the extent of enforcing regulations or dictating measures affecting the welfare even more seriously? Given a monotonous job allowing a division of attention, and a vague fear combined with resentment, the worker who did not brood over the ills of his lot would be unusual. It is evident that unfairness can work destruction to the general morale because it inhibits co-operation, and because it furnishes unwholesome material for thought.

Employers have often been guilty of violating contracts, not by disregarding the letter, but by abusing the spirit. The following example is given by Frost [17]:

"A big shop which was engaged in the manufacture of electric dynamos and paid for the work by piece, had a sudden call for a

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[17] Stanley Frost: Labor and Revolt, p. 63.

large number of dynamos of a certain type. The foreman knew that the workers were limiting themselves to an amount of work that would pay them all about the same at the end of the week - that is, the better men were doing no more than the slowest could accomplish. So he called in the men, explained the situation to them, and promises that if they would forget their rules, and each man do as much as he could, there would be no cut in the amount paid for that job. The men agreed, and the result was more than to double the output for the shop. The foreman kept his word and did not cut the price on that job. But within three weeks the price had been cut on every other type of dynamo made, and the type that was not cut was discontinued."

A few more illustrations mentioned by the above author show a similar type of abuse. A large railroad was compelled by a board of arbitration to concede to a reduction in hours, but so re-arranged the schedule that the benefits of the nominal gains were entirely lost.

A street railway company was unwilling to pay the employees the amount held back from wages pending the settlement of difficulties by arbitration.

The agreements not to discriminate against union men have been violated so often that labor does not consider them.

Such dealings as these tend to make workers naturally fearful of new proposals even when they appear reasonable from all outward appearances, for the workers become conditioned so that they respond with distrust to the overtures of

a class that has tricked them in the past. Perhaps we have an explanation of what appears to be labor's foolish hesitancy to settle disputes by boards of arbitration and their steady maintenance of their privilege to strike.

5. Physical Conditions.

Consideration will be given here to the results of adverse physical conditions in increased susceptibility to fear stimuli and occupation neuroses. A reasonable explanation appears to lie in the inevitable lowering of the threshold of stimulation which is the result of decreased vitality or health. For the fatigued and overworked laborer or the workman suffering from an occupational disease there is a peculiar definition of the situation. Due to the physiological condition of nervous system and a conscious or unconscious sense of inability to face the usual requirements in a normal way there is a tendency to sense danger in situations which would appear harmless to a person not so affected. Under these conditions it is reasonable to expect more anger and more fear, and it is likely that the proportion of fear is increased. Once the process of stimulation and re-stimulation is set in motion the intensity may increase through adaptation until there develops a condition which is essentially neurotic. Usually, however, some kind of adjustment is made before the extreme state is reached, but in spite of this fact it is achieved at a sacrifice. Here we have an explanation of what appear to be the unreasonable restriction of output of which many of the unions are accused. There must

be some protection against the stimulation of production beyond the normal ability of the average worker.

The workman fears the results of overwork, and overwork fosters fear.

An illuminating study of the affections of the motor mechanism due to special occupations was made by Dr. Charles K. Mills [18] which has special bearing on the subject under consideration. Dr. Mills states that, "A large number of affections of the neuro-muscular apparatus result from the monotonous and prolonged use of certain groups of muscles in the pursuit of special occupations. These are described by systematic writers under various names, such as occupation neuroses, fatigue neuroses, and occupation spasms." There is an extended list of vocations in which these fatigue disorders tend to manifest themselves. The peculiar effect which prolonged fatigue has on the neuro-muscular mechanism tends to upset the normal processes of recuperation and rhythmic nutrition. Even the inclination to repose may be destroyed, a fact with which many of us are familiar. The results of this condition, as Dr. Mills describes them are, [19] "The diseases which are at first functional, peripheral, and neuromuscular, and simply the temporary effects ...... in time become affections of the spinal and still later of the cerebral centers." The muscular disorders manifest themselves in diminution and loss of power, cramps and spasms. Of a different nature

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18. Charles K. Mills; M.D.: In Loomis and Thompson-- A System of Practical Medicine, pp. 597-598.
19. Charles K. Mills, M.D.: Ibid., p. 598

are symptoms of neurasthenia, such as loss of attention, irritability, emotionality and excitability.

Aside from the dangers of nervous and muscular disorders which adverse conditions tend to produce, the importance of health and strength becomes increasingly evident when we consider their necessity for earning a living. There is no serious exaggeration in Hackett's statement, [20] "The workman's only real asset is his health, upon which his strength depends; it is his working capital. When he loses health, he loses everything; he becomes a burden to himself, to his family, his friends, and the community. He lives by the wages he gets just as employers live by the work he does."

While fatigue plays a large part in anxiety and worry, it also appears to furnish an explanation of surprising states of anger. An example may illustrate this point more clearly. A fireman whom I came to know as a comparatively quiet and retiring individual, was compelled through an avoidable mistake to help in the repair of some heavy valves after his shift had been completed. A number of hours of strenuous work in the heat and dirt above a boiler were required to complete the job. The task was no sooner finished than he was told of another valve which needed repairing. The reaction of temper and profanity which followed was a surprise to everyone. Evidently the state of fatigue which was combined with resentment caused the man to temporarily forget himself in his assertion of rights. The

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[20] J. D. Hackett: <u>Health Maintenance in Industry</u>, p. 3.

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Aside from the dangers of nervous and muscular disorders which adverse conditions tend to produce, the importance of health and strength becomes increasingly evident when we consider their necessity for earning a living. There is no undue exaggeration in Bassett's statement, [40] "The worker's only real asset is his health, upon which his strength depends; it is his working capital. When he loses health, he loses everything; he becomes a burden to himself, to his family, his friends, and the community. He lives by the wages he earns just as employers live by the work he does."

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[40] [illegible] Bassett: *Health Maintenance in Industry*, p. 3.

field of consciousness was narrowed to include only those factors which were contributing to his discomfort and distress, and the threshold of stimulation was lowered so that only slight provocation was needed to release a storm of suppressed feeling. The usual attitude of reticence could no longer be maintained under these conditions.

Perhaps we see in the characteristic size of the worker's family a desire for insurance against the unproductive days which sooner or later overtake those who earn their living by manual labor. There is an explanation of what appears to be the heartless desire of turning youthful labor into profit.

During the month of December 1927, I had the opportunity of making a study of the newsboys of Boston, which involved the attending of Newsboys' Trial Board. This is a provision made by the School Committee for dealing with infringements against child labor laws. A large percentage of the newsboys are from the homes of working people, and certain phenomena are evidenced as the boys and their parents are questioned by the prosecuting attendance officer. One case in particular attracted my attention, and the Supervisor of Licensed Minors appeared to believe that it was typical of the attitude of a considerable percentage of working homes. The father of a twelve year old boy who had been selling at night without a license, spoke with the seriousness of conviction, "I support my father when he is an old man, and my boy support me." The broken English of this Italian laborer appeared to voice the

philosophy of filial obligations with no uncertainty. This is a belief developed in many cases by the necessity of conditions, for as Edward Devine declares: [21] "It is notorious that the insatiable factory wears out its workers with great rapidity. As it scraps machinery, so it scraps human beings. The young, the vigorous, the adaptable, the supple of limb, the alert of mind, are in demand. In business and in the professions maturity of judgment and ripened experience offset, to some extent, the disadvantages of old age; but in the factory and on the railway, with spade and pick, at the spindle, at the steel converters, there are no offsets. Middle age is old age, and the worn-out worker, if he has no children and if he has no savings, becomes an item in the aggregate of the unemployed."

B. Responses.

1. Distrust and Hostility.

An objective study of certain of the various reactions directed by the workers against the interests of employers, reveals with a fair degree of certainty a number of widely varying intentions. It is comparatively simple to discover what the workers are doing, or trying to do. But a more difficult problem is faced in understanding why they are responding in a certain manner. The motive is the key to

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[21] Edward Devine: Misery and Its Causes, p. 125.

the situation, and it is sometimes so fully concealed that even those who possess it are not aware of the fact. By assigning fear as an important motivating principle to the group of responses to be considered, it is hoped that a reasonable explanation may be given to certain apparently unreasonable labor demonstrations. It would not be logical to assert that fear is the only motive, but the general character of many activities indicates a substantial, if not a dominating measure of fear.

Distrust and hostility are directed toward an object, feared because of its possibility of harm. The experiments of Watson demonstrate the power of conditioning in determining attitudes toward environmental objects. The principlesof the same law appear to operate throughout life, and their far reaching effects may be observed in industry. Conditioning may produce an entirely unreasonable distrust, but on some occasions it protects the cautious worker from repeated suffering.

The hatred of efficiency and standardization methods may be so great that political candidates must avoid the words in constructing their platforms if they wish to secure labor votes. On the other hand, the ease with which many employers make and break promises, has caused the workers to steadily assert their right of collective action because it tends to guarantee the privileges they have won.

Note: The treatment of motive and intention is based on lecture notes taken in Dr. Wayland Vaughan's Personality Psychology.

There are evidences that distrust and hostility are not only shown to employers, but workers are hostile to each other, and are fickle in their loyalty to leaders. An outstanding example of insurgency within the labor ranks occurred in the conflict between the Illinois miners and their officials in 1919 [22]. Low wages and a continuously rising cost of living brought considerable dissatisfaction with the war regulated conditions. In spite of the pressure brought to bear on the agitating miners, the industry was hampered by a strike, and the state officials of the U. M.W.of A. became targets of a storm of abuse. A glimpse of the character of the situation is shown in the appeal drawn up by the miners to protest against their treatment.[23] In part it reads as follows:

"We also appeal to the mine workers in every part of the State to rally to our support and defeat the aims of the Farrington machine that is now using the treasury of the Illinois Mine Workers to hire every crook and thug to defeat our efforts in the cause of humanity."

The presence of fear is fairly evident in the urgent desire for co-operation in defeating the autocratic state officials. In the letter sent by the workers to President Farrington of the miners' union the typical anger response may be seen. The men do not admit their fear, but show their resentment by abuse.[24]

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[22] Sylvia Kopald: <u>Rebellion In Labor Unions</u>, pp. 55-124.
[23] Sylvia Kopald: <u>Op.Cit</u>., p. 104.
[24] Sylvia Kopald: <u>Op. cit</u>., p. 117.

"To his Royal Highness Lord Farrington and members of the Imperial family: a telegram warning all mine workers who are now on strike that they must return to work before August 30th, 1919, or that their charter would be revoked, has been received.

"The answer to that telegram is that you can all go to Hell and take the charter with you for may we not advise you to get passports to Holland and join your friend 'Bill' Hohenzollern for the miners will not stand for the organization being Kaiserized any longer.

"(Signed) Miners of Peoria, Illinois."

This type of conflict is significantly described by labor sympathizers as being "unnatural", but it shows the far reaching effects of a disruptive force. When an employer becomes the main object of distrust and hostility, the workers tend to forget for the time being their fears of each other and use collective action more effectively, so that fear then becomes a bond of unity. Sometimes it appears that fear is the only force capable of making them lay aside their differences. It is enlightening to examine the demonstrations of hostility toward employers. The speeches of labor leaders in particular become subject to emotion.

The labor difficulties in mining regions of Colorado have furnished inspiration for hearty denounciations of the evils of capital. An unusually pointed address on the subject was given by John Walsh, Executive Secretary of the I. W. W., at the industrial seminar held recently in New York by the Congregational churches. A sample of his irony reads as follows:

[25]"The next strike was about 1914, just about the time the World War started. Of course we were reading about Belgium and little was said about the men and women who were shot down in Ludlow, Colorado. They did not have the nerve to go out into the hills to fight the miners openly; they used machine guns on the women and children in Ludlow.

"It's the same way now. Of the six men who were shot down, three were members of the American Legion, three men who had fought in France. They were shot down while walking along a road. Ten men and women were injured. John D. Rockefeller didn't have anything to do with it personally, but he hires the gunmen! The scabs working in the mines when they get their pay check have to pay so much to pay the gunmen for protection. So John D. is playing safe all the time. He teaches a Bible class on Sunday and hires gunmen on Monday. Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde."

The above speech is not an exceptionally strong example when compared with some of the expressions of opinion in magazines sympathizing with labor, such as the "Labor Defender", "The New Republic", and others of the same class. Even the public utterances of John Haynes Holmes and Harry F. Ward betray essentially the same state of mind, a feeling of distrust and hostility toward capitalism. The picture they present is of a menacing monster, cruel and ruthless. It appears that these voicers of opinion not only express prevailing at-

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[25] Record of the First Industrial Seminar, Conducted by the Congregational Churches of the U. S., in Dec. 1927, p. 37.

titudes, but help in a large measure to create them. Examples from history would tend to show thatpeople may be contentedly ignorant of the exploitation they suffer. The workers to-day would probably manifest less unrest if it were not for the efforts of their sympathizers to awaken them to a realization of the evils of capitalism.

At present ulterior motives are seen even in welfare work and personnel activities. It requires a large amount of patience for the well-intentioned employer to overcome the inertia of distrust once it has been created. Robert W. Dunn significantly remarks: [26]

"The workers have so often seen the benevolent - and crafty - employer use these activities to serve his purpose. They have seen unions weakened and undermined through a timely applied piece of welfare work -- 'hell-fare work' as Samuel Gompers used to call it. They know, better than any other class of persons in American industrial society, the destructive effects of these activities upon the building up of labor unions."

It becomes evident as we examine the numerous examples of labor trouble that the feeling of hostility and distrust has a strong influence in complicating the problems of industrial relations. It is even manifested by the workers among themselves. Because of it, a well-meaning employer may be surprised at the coldness with which his welfare measures are received. When the suspicion is shown by the workers toward each other,

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[26] Robert W. Dunn: Americanization of Labor, p. 262.

the result is disruption, but when an employer becomes the object of fear, there is a better possibility of collective action.

2. Character of Production.

It is reasonable to believe that many employers would modify their treatment of the workers if they were fully aware of the effect which the response of fear has on the general character of production. Out put may be voluntarily or involuntarily restricted both in quantity and quality, due to the mental and physiological states of fear, but since the results appear on the surface to be so distantly related to the cause, it is not surprising that an explanation is sought in either laziness or perversity. In fact, the traits of indolence and forwardness are ascribed to the workers almost indiscriminately to explain many of their tendencies. There may be a measure of justice in these contentions, but we should simply go a step further and attempt to explain the part played by fear.

Production is often restricted both by the labor unions and by the individual workmen. Concerning the objections raised against collective bargaining, Tead and Metcalf write:[27]

"Unions limit output and restrict the use of labor saving machinery. This is another sweeping generalization which has a certain fact basis. It would be equally true, however, to say that all workers do both of these things. It is an almost inevitable consequence of a condition of bargaining over pay

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[27] Tead and Metcalf: Personnel Administration, p. 489.

but not over work, and of a condition of economic insecurity."

It is perhaps natural that a worker who considers himself poorly paid should retaliate by producing less. The question of **economic** insecurity, however, involves a number of factors which show fear more clearly. As Tead remarks,[28] "There is a strong undercurrent of sympathy among manual workers in favor of "making work', 'going it easy', limiting the number of workers at a job or craft, and opposing the application of machinery to jobs, which has its roots in the absolute necessity of having a job if one is to live and give one's family a living."

People who have had industrial experience may recall the almost humorous devices used by workers who are afraid of working themselves out of a job. A steam-fitter, whom I came to know, was sent to do a small piping job in a tunnel. The work could have easily been completed in an hour, but he spent the whole day taking the pipes down and putting them up again whenever any one in authority was near. The explanation was simple: there was only one small job for him to do, and if he had completed it in a reasonable amount of time, he would have been compelled to remain idle the rest of the day, and perhaps get in trouble for loafing.

Another factor which must be considered in the limitation of output is the necessity of regulating the pace for a normal lifetime of employment[29]. The worker usually realizes that overwork reduces his period of usefulness, and also any sickness

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[28] Ordway Tead: Instincts in Industry, p. 25.
[29] Ordway Tead: Instincts in Industry, pp. 49-50.

will deprive himself and family of an income. As a result, the speed tends to be based on the amount that can be done without strain rather than the limit of capacity.

The quality and quantity of work are not always consciously restricted by fear, but can and often do result from general mental and physical incapacity. Tead and Metcalf express themselves very clearly in this matter.[30]

> "The role of fear in working class life is a critical one; and the fear does not have to be conscious for it to have its effect. The consequence of fear is a state of body and mind which is strained, preoccupied and obstructed. The person who fears may have his attention riveted on escaping the thing feared; all his alertness and responsiveness are naturally enlisted in this escape. Literally he can be interested in little else."

The worker whose vitality is weakened, and who furthermore dissipates his attention from his work to his boss cannot be expected to be as efficient as the person who is not harassed in this way. This fear necessarily contains a measure of hostility toward those who are responsible for the unhappy condition, and the attitude of unfriendliness crops out in the job as well as in complaints and agitations. There may be a deliberate spoiling of a product providing detection can be escaped, for a man cannot be watched all the time, and it is impossible to test the quality of all his work. A telling example of this recently brought to my attention. One of the buildings in a

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30. Tead and Metcalf: Personnel Administration, pp. 203-204.

college near Boston was partially destroyed by fire. Both union and non-union men were employed on the job of reconstruction in spite of the opposition of the unions. When the work was well near completion there was another fire which ruined the building entirely. It was impossible to find evidence for a case, but there is good reason to believe that the second fire was deliberately incendiary. This account may be interpreted to illustrate an anger response of a group who feared that their interests and prestige were being jeopardized.

The reflection of fear in the character of production is a matter of considerable importance from the standpoint of the employer, for it can and does frequently place him at the mercy of workers who are motivated by the desire to crush. Even where the response is not open and deliberate, the results may work harm on a large scale through inefficiency.

3. Collective Action.

It is in collective action that the most highly organized defense mechanisms of labor may be observed. The modern labor union has many indications of being the result of the workers' attempts to defend themselves against being exploited by those whom they serve. From the point of view of Catchings[31], the unions are "militant organizations" designed to get results by any kind of force which is available, and often in spite of laws and court injunctions. There are many indications to show that the uniting for collective action depends on the existence

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[31] Waddill Catchings: "Our Common Enterprise." Atlantic Monthly, vol. CXXIX, pp. 218-229

of some condition which is feared. As Whiting Williams maintains[32] the labor organizer is compelled frequently to keep up a state of agitation where there actually exists little cause, in order that the union will continue to exist. The worker is a tight-margined investor, and frequently fear is the only motive which will cause him to pay his dues and attend the meetings. All of this indicates that union officials are not the ones to displace the fear from the minds of the workers, at least while the workers are organized to "get results".

A constructive accomplishment of the collective action of workers has been the formation of labor agreements, but it may be clearly observed that most of these contain a large percentage of defense provisions. The workers' fears of joblessness, loss of status, loss of feeling of worth, harsh treatment, unfair treatment, and unfavorable physical conditions all manifest themselves in the contents of labor agreements with frank simplicity.

In connection with this study, I have obtained from the American Electric Railway Association an analysis of the labor agreements of ten companies represented in the membership. The substance of the agreements appears to be very much the same, but I have selected examples to illustrate the common fears with which this thesis is concerned:

Fear of Joblessness.

San Antonio Public Service Company, San Antonio, Texas.

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32. Whiting Williams: Mainsprings of Men, pp. 80-107.

"Any employee as mentioned in Section 3 of this agreement, who is a member of this Association in good standing, and who may be discharged or suspended, shall have the right to appeal through this Association to the official of his respective department for reinstatement, and if the differences cannot be adjusted, then the Vice President and General Manager may be appealed to, and upon failure to agree the President may be appealed to. Should no agreement be arrived at, then both parties shall present the matter to a board of arbitration in accordance with the provisions of Section 2 of this agreement, (See "III, Provision For Arbitration") and the findings of the majority of this board shall be binding on both parties hereto."

(From Agreement, Section5).

Fear of Loss of Status.

Pittsburgh Railways Company, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

"A seniority list of all extra men will be so posted that they may at all times see their standing upon the list."

(From Agreement, Section 4)

"The choice of runs will be in accordance with the seniority rights of the trainmen at the car house where they report."

(From Agreement, Section 7)

San Antonio Public Service Company, San Antonio, Texas.

> "Each motorman and conductor, one-man operator and bus operator shall be entitled to hold his run in accordance with his length of continuous service in the employ of the Company."
>
> (From Agreement, Section 14)

Fear of Loss of Feeling of Worth or Self-Respect.

Pittsburgh Railways Company, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

> "Conductors discharged for incompetency in the collection of fares shall be told privately the reason for their discharge."
>
> (From Agreement, Section 8)

Newburgh Public Service Corporation, Newburgh, New York.

> "Suspension or discharge of bus operators shall not be made public."
>
> (From Agreement, Section 8)

Fear of Unfair Treatment.

Connecticut Company, New Haven, Connecticut.

> "An employee of the Company, other than employee performing secret service duties, who makes a complaint regarding a conductor or motorman, shall appear before the party complained of and the committee regularly representing the men, upon request."
>
> (From Agreement, Section 40)

Toronto Transportation Commission, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

> "For serious cases, including drunkenness, drinking in uniform, or drinking on cars, destruction of property, accidents through carelessness or neglect, missing fares through neglect or carrying friends free, using stools on portions of route not allowed by the Commission, incivility to passengers, profanity on the cars, an employee may be disciplined or released from further service, but he shall in all cases have the right to appeal to the Superintendent and have his case considered by him."

(From Agreement, Section 18)

Fear of Overwork and Fatigue.

Connecticut Company, New Haven, Connecticut.

> "If an extra man works or is held for orders after 12 midnight, he need not make the first report the following morning."

(From Agreement, Section 5 a)

> "Men when relieved after being held for orders or on duty for a period of fifteen (15) hours or more, shall be allowed at least eight (8) hours'rest."

(From Agreement, Section 32)

Georgia Railway & Power Company, Atlanta, Georgia.

> "It is agreed that extra men who work runs that do not reach barn before 12 o'clock midnight, and who fail to make early report the following morning, will forfeit no rights due them by reason of such

failure to report."

(From Agreement, Section 17)

The number of provisions which jealousy guard the employees' rights are extended to cover even small details such as the definition of terms, time for meals, provisions for clothing lockers, and a definite time allowance for going from the central station to the place of assignment. Apparently nothing affecting the welfare of the men is not considered in some way. The provisions for arbitration are planned so that the interests of the employers and employees will have equal weight, and there will be no danger of intimidation or money influence. In the case of each agreement, even the details are anticipated. The arrangement in the majority of cases is somewhat as follows: The company chooses one arbitrator, and the union chooses one. A third arbitrator is then selected by the two thus chosen. If either party fails to appoint an abbitrator within five days after a written request has been made, the right to decision is forfeited. After each party has chosen an arbitrator the two meet daily until the third arbitrator has been selected. If after a period of ten days the third arbitrator has not been selected, the officers of the company and officers of the union meet and decide upon a method of selecting which is suitable to both parties. Another plan is to dismiss the arbitrators first elected and choose two new men in their places. At any event the provisions of the agreement are to remain undisturbed until the third arbitrator is appointed.

When the three arbitrators have been selected, it is their duty to receive all the testimony which either party desires to submit. After all of the facts have been presented a decision is rendered in writing which is supposed to be "final and binding".

Collective action as a response to fear, however, is not confined to the creating of defense mechanisms against the possible encroachments of employers as a class. If this were true, relationships would manifest themselves along comparatively simple lines, but cleavages occur which antagonize groupd of workers, even within the same industry. The struggle between job takers themselves is often hardly less bitter than the contests between the employers and the employed, so that the general rule of fear is not confined to merely two classes. It appears to manifest itself wherever interests conflict. Whenever solidarity appears in the uniting of different interests, it is not because the workers fear only the employers, but because they fear the employers more than they fear each other. When the purpose has been achieved, the process of disintegration very easily takes place unless there is some fresh, exciting cause.

The division of organized labor appears to take place at a number of different points. In the first place, as Baker has shown in the case of the American workers' attempts to obtain reforms,[33] there are three factions: first, the con-

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[33] Ray Stannard Baker: New Industrial Unrest, pp. 58-86.

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[33]. Ray Stannard Baker: *The Industrial Unrest*, pp. 58-59.

servatives representing the skilled trades; second , the progressives who advocate sweeping reforms; third, the revolutionary groups such as the I. W. W., who cannot be reconciled at all to the present conditions.

Another point of conflicting interests is the disputes between trades concerning rights to different jobs. A conspicuous example is the case of the carpenters and sheet metal workers. The difficulty lies in the question of who has the right to put in the sash of the modern office building. Formerly the sash was made of wood, but now that it is made of metal, the metal workers claim the right of installing it. In spite of the possibility of settling the dispute through the Board of Jurisdictional Awards, created by the American Federation of Labor, this question has been a continual source of trouble.

An illustration from personal experience shows that the feeling between trades manifests fear very definitely. During the summer of 1924, I was employed as a mason's helper. An old building was to be patched up and painted inside. The question as to who had the right to fill the small holes in the walls led to considerable hostility between the masons and painters, each accusing the other of trying to "do them out of their job."

Whiting Williams makes a very clear point of the hierarchies of trade prestige. This feeling of superiority of one trade over another only increases the possibility of antagonism.

Finally there is a menace to collective action in the disputes between members of the same trade. A definite example of this is in the New England telephone strike of 1923. The opera-

tors belonged to two unions, one of which remained loyal. The hostility between the two factions was so strong that means had to be devised in several localities for transporting the non-striking operators to and from the exchanges.

4. The Strike.

In studying the workers' great offensive and defensive weapon, a problem is faced which contains the motivating elements of primitive emotion in a marked degree. Costly and clumsy though it is, the strike is the worker's greatest instrument of protection. It has been the means of wresting from the hands of employers most of the privileges which are now enjoyed, and it is not surprising that labor hesitates to part with it. An explanation may here be seen of the persistent refusal of the unions to become legally incorporated, for such an act would hold them responsible before the law, and entail procedure which they do not trust and do not have the confidence, money, or patience to employ. Tead and Metcalf remark[34], "Incorporation of unions under present legal conditions would have, in short, a tendency to defeat the very features in them which it is advantageous to preserve; namely, the assured, effective, and continuous protection of the workers' rights by their own self-constituted organizations." Because of this, there is an attempt to assure a certain amount of responsibility on the part of the unions by prosecuting the labor leaders for unlawful acts. Legal suits of this nature

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[34] Tead and Metcalf: Personnel Administration, p. 479.

may become an effective method of retaliation.

The developments of modern industry are tending, however, to alter the character of the strike in widening the field affected by it. Portenar significantly comments on this fact, emphasizing the growth of consolidation in business:[35]

"The concurrent tendencies - concentration of ownership or close affiliation on the part of employers, with organization by industry on the part of employees - must continuously operate to make strikes and lockouts more and more terrible industrial convulsions. The forces aligned against each other will be titanic, and the injuries the contending parties will be able mutually to inflict will be proportionate to the magnitude of their organizations."

With the increased size and potentiality of strikes there must follow greater waste, suffering, misery, and fear. There is the possibility, moreover, of anger responses intensified by ambivalence.

Perhaps the picture drawn by Portenar is too pessimistic, but it must be admitted that it is possible. The growth of militant combinations of workers and employers shows the presence of fear, and it also shows the possibility of industrial warfare on a large scale.

It is not surprising that the strike is feared by many investigators because it appears to affect the stability of society. The demonstrations of mob and crowd psychology show an intensity of feeling which is regarded as dangerous by many

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35. Abraham J. Portenar: Organized Labor, p. 52.

intelligent onlookers. The trouble, however, lies more in the state of mind which acts of violence represent, than in the actual economic waste accompanying the strike. Carlton Parker says:[36]

"The strike has two prerequisites, - a satisfactory obsession in the labor mind, and a sufficient decay in the eyes of labor of the prestige of social norms, to allow the laborer to make those breaches of law and convention which a well run strike of today demands."

James Roscoe Day gives a summary of indictments against the strike, which may almost be regarded as a catalogue of fears:

[37]" A strike should be forbidden, first, because it is a minority attempting to control by conspiracy against majorities. Second, because it is a body of men which assumes authority over property in which it has no right. Third, because it is reckless of consequences to the extreme of property destruction and danger to human life. Fourth, because it drives out of their employment men who as free American citizens have the right to labor. Fifth, because it assumes the right of determining the matter without vestige of authority from any source whatever. Sixth, because it decides the quality of the men applying without regard to the protest of the contractor. Seventh, because it involves all business by calling out by sympathetic strikes employees of all trades representing the federation - unjust in the extreme. Eighth, because

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[36]. Carlton Parker: The Casual Laborer, p. 51.
[37]. James Roscoe Day: My Neighbor the Workingman, pp. 117-118.

intelligent outsiders. The trouble, however, lies more in the state of mind which acts of violence represent, than in the actual economic waste accompanying the strike. Carlton Parker says:[36]

"The strike has two prerequisites, - a satisfactory obsession in the labor mind, and a sufficient decay in the eyes of labor of the prestige of social mores, to allow the laborer to make those breaches of law and convention which a well run strike of today demands."

James Roscoe Day gives a summary of indictments against the strike, which may almost be regarded as a catalogue of ideas:

[37]" A strike should be forbidden, first, because it is a minority attempting to control by conspiracy against any citizen. Second, because it is a body of men which assumes authority over property in which it has no right. Third, because it is careless of consequences to the extreme of property destruction and danger to human life. Fourth, because it drives out of their employment men who as free American citizens have the right to labor. Fifth, because it assumes the right of determining the matter without vestige of authority from any source whatever. Sixth, because it decides the quality of the man applying without regard to the protest of the contractor. Seventh, because it involves all business by calling out by sympathetic strikes employees of all trades representing the Federation - subject in the matter. Eighth, because

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36. Carlton Parker: The Casual Laborer, p. 70.
37. James Roscoe Day: My Neighbor the Workingman, pp. 117-118.

because it fixes an arbitrary wage with no discrimination as to the amount of work done or whether one deserves a much larger percent of acceptable service than another. Ninth, because the organization limits apprentices and attempts to decrease skilled labor. Tenth, because labor insists upon full pay for men good and bad and indifferent, and recognizes no protest by the builder or employer against unfit men. Eleventh, because a strike is a growing menace to the stability of our country and outrages every source of justice and inculcates in forms new to our institutions loose ideas of loyalty which work against the peace of the nation. Twelfth, because the strike and its doctrines are working deplorable mischief among the striking men themselves, stimulating arrogance and carelessness concerning fundamental obligations of citizenship."

It is safe to say that almost every one of the items given above could be worded differently to stand for what the union worker would regard as a legitimate bill of rights, and the very goal toward which he is striving. Thus, what labor considers proper and ethical, the employers often regard as improper and unethical. The strike results when one or both parties are afraid to sacrifice what they want or what they believe is justly theirs.

IV.

FEARS OF THE EMPLOYER.

A. Stimuli.

1. Failure of Workers to Produce.

There are two general characteristics of the employer's fears which may be considered when comparing them with those of the workers. In the first place, it is likely that they are not as intense. As Mackenzie King remarks:

[38] "Capital can wait for its reward. If the worst comes to the worst, the mere possession of capital is of itself in the nature of insurance against perils which threaten Labor whenever confronted by uncertainty of employment, or actual unemployment. Moreover, the capitalist is at once a capitalist and a potential laborer. Only under exceptional conditions, is the laborer even a potential capitalist."

The worker usually lives on a narrow margin; the necessity of the weekly pay envelope to pay bills and debts is immediate, or at least it is likely to be more immediate than is the necessity of the employer's salary.

The second characteristic of the employer's fears is that they are not so obvious. There is less of the open display of primitive and intense reactions. There seems to be more delib-

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38. W. L. Mackenzie King: Industry and Humanity, p. 236.

eration, and less impulse than the workers manifest.

It still appears, however, that the motive of fear acts with far reaching results. The reactions are often carefully planned and very ruthless.

One of the principal aims of capital is to increase production in quality and quantity. The employer, as an owner and a steward of capital, strives for output. Production is the end which justifies the means, and the character of the means sometimes becomes a secondary question. The failure of the workers to produce efficiently, or produce at all, appears to violate a cardinal principle. The success of an industry depends largely on the workers' willingness to produce, and the failure to produce must necessarily be a stimulus to fear for the employer and for the capitalist.

The unfortunate feature of the worker's unwillingness to do his best is the immense economic loss which is involved. Alexander Outerbridge sees in this fact a valid argument for the premium system of wage payment. In part, he says:

[39] "If an observer should notice a gang of ten men in any large establishment standing idle all the day long, he would naturally be amazed at the apparent lack of discipline; yet it may be confidently asserted that there is no establishment employing a thousand men in which the actual loss of time every day, through idling and gossiping, does not exceed in the aggregate the entire time of ten men for ten hours each day.

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39. Alexander C. Outerbridge, Jr.: <u>Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science</u>, vol. XXI, p.10.

A loss of but six minutes a day in this way by one thousand men equals 6,000 minutes or 100 hours, or the equivalent of the full time of ten men for ten hours."

Of important significance from the standpoint of the employer is voluntary restriction of output based on the collective action of the workers. Mackenzie King mentions the limitations which British labor had succeeded in placing about industry before the War, and the necessity which prompted their removal while the nation was fighting. He says:[40]

"Briefly classified, restrictions of the kind include such practices as hampering the installation of the best machinery, or the speed at which it is worked; preventing the introduction of new processes; limiting the freedom to engage, or to promote, or to put at any kind of work, any workman, irrespective of training, age or sex .... limitation in numbers of apprentices; the insistance on trade unionism and the employment of union labor to the exclusion of any other; the demarcation of employment; the requirement of a minimum wage; the objection to systems of remuneration by piece work or bonus systems; and restrictions in hours of work, and the prohibition of overtime."

The limitations mentioned above are by no means confined to Great Britain. There are numerous examples of the same practices of labor in the United States, which Mackenzie King mentions in his subsequent discussion. Many of the restric-

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[40] W. L. Mackenzie King: Industry and Humanity, pp. 241-242.

tions on output appear well justified, however, for protection must be obtained against the exploitation of effort. Nevertheless, the employer frequently has reason to see in them an unnecessary hinderance. An example was brought to my attention of the difficulty faced by a building contractor in a suburb of Boston. The date had been set for the completion of the building on which he was working. According to the agreement, a certain amount of the contract price was to be forfeited if the job was not finished at the specified time. In spite of the fact that this might have easily been accomplished by a comparatively small amount of overtime, the workers refused to co-operate.

Just how great a loss is involved in the workers' limitation of output is hard to estimate. The combination, however, of loss due to deliberate waste of time, and loss due to unnecessary restrictions presents a serious problem.

2. Failure of Workers to Appreciate.

Many progressive employers now realize that it is a good commercial proposition to take care of the welfare of their employees, and there is no doubt that in some cases an attempt is made to express altruism from other motives besides those of acquisition. A great deal more would be done than is done at the present time if it were not for the discouraging rebuffs which such advances often receive. An editor of the magazine, Industrial Management, writes:

[41]"Often industry has found its workmen unappreciative of these expenditures and various plans for the mutual benefit of industrial workers, and industry itself have failed because the workmen did not co-operate to make them successful. Workmen who might have received such benefit continuously if they had accepted it, have in some instances dubbed it wholly 'commercial' and have so taken advantage on account of its privileges that industry was forced to curtail or withdraw them entirely.

Such experiences have created an attitude of fear on the part of industry which results in a handicap and this handicap is shared by the industrial worker."

There is good evidence to believe, however, that welfare and service activities are carried on in a considerable percentage of the large corporations. In his critical discussion of the "Americanization of Labor", Robert W. Dunn quotes from a study made by Abraham Epstein of over 1,500 American corporations:

[42]"Eighty percent of these corporations, employing more than 4,000,000 workers, have adopted at least one type of industrial welfare work, while almost half the firms have inaugurated comprehensive schemes of service activities for the protection of their employees against various emergencies.

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41. Floyd H. Hazard: Industrial Management, vol. LXV, p. 204.
42. Robert W. Dunn: Americanization of Labor, pp. 195-196.

About one fiftieth only of the total had undertaken no welfare measures."

In these activities the worker sees, and sometimes imagines that he sees an array of ulterior or dishonest motives. The author referred to above presents as evidence, Boettiger's summary of motives in the book, Employees Welfare Work:

[43]" (1) increase productive efficiency; (2) reduce labor turnover; (3) attract a desirable grade of labor; (4) advertise the business; (5) reduce strikes and labor difficulties; (6) lull workers into a feeling of contentment with conditions which would otherwise be vigorously protested; (7) provide palliatives for a low wage; (8) avoid state regulation by furnishing the argument that it is not needed; (9) disrupt the discipline of unionized labor; (10) reduce taxes on profits by artificially inflating costs."

The belief that the employer is acting from selfishness rather than generosity, whether it is justified or not, accounts for the suspicion and hostility with which personnel work is often regarded. Yet it is frequently possible to observe a lack of appreciation which cannot be so readily defended.

The employer in whose service I have gained most of my limited industrial experience confessed that he had been compelled to change his policy of granting two weeks of sick benefit, because his employees without exception had taken advantage of the provision by staying away from work at some

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43. Robert W. Dunn: Ibid., p. 206.

time or other during the year. At present the benefit is obtained only by personal application, and it is significant that the expenditures have been cut in half.

Other examples are the unnecessary abuse of equipment such as lockers, towels, toilet facilities and furniture. Workmen are frequently wasteful and careless of tools, machines, oil, waste cloth and stock of all kinds. It is not surprising to find that employers are forced to keep careful records to offset in some degree this unfortunate tendency, and are compelled to use inferior equipment because high grade devices are broken or lost.

Such evidences of callousness certainly tend to negatively condition employers as far as attempting to grant privileges is concerned, and they discourage the display of altruism which might normally be expected. Furthermore, the fear of consequences may produce a reaction of such a nature that the opposite plan of treatment may be adopted whenever possible; failing to find their welfare activities and equipment appreciated, the employers may consciously or unconsciously become hostile to new and proper innovations.

3. Dishonesty and Unfairness of the Workers.

Dishonesty and unfairness on the part of individual workers and labor unions exist as a fruitful cause of trouble. It is significant that the friends and sympathizers of labor often ignore or tend to ignore this fact in their well meant proposals for the solution of industrial difficulties. The griev-

ances are not concentrated in any one class as an impartial investigation tends to show. There are three factors which frequently appear in these demonstrations of malice, and two of them are especially significant because of the consequences they involve; first, actual unreliability and dishonesty ; second, the belief that since the worker produces all the wealth, he is entitled to all the profit; third, the strange conception frequently manifested, that the part played by the individual worker has nothing to do with the ultimate profit and earnings of the company. It may be seen that the employer has reason to be disturbed, not only because of economic loss, but also because of the dangerous sentiments revealed.

Mention may be made of petty thefts, lying, and abuse of time which all companies try to counteract by cards and checks. It is a noticeable phenomenon that a worker who will show scrupulous regard for company stock, tools, and property, can deliberately waste hours of time dodging the boss or puttering at his work. I can recall from my own experience the hours wasted in discussing some interesting subject. As long as we were out of sight our consciences troubled us not in the least, yet the labor was being charged to a job which was standing untouched. Men who will not steal a penny's worth of company property are able with the same freedom of mind to waste dollars worth of time.

Of a somewhat different nature are those practices followed on a large scale by the labor unions. From the employer's point of view the closed shop often represents a denial of

sound economic and ethical principles. These ideas are very clearly set forth by Walter Drew, counsel for the National Erectors' Association, in an address given in 1916.[44] He severely criticizes the policy of the closed shop, in the first place because, "it is an artificial, not a natural monopoly, requiring for its maintenance the continued thwarting of the law of supply and demand." By means of the power derived, output is deliberately restricted. There is no real bargaining, only a demand and a surrender. Power is abused with serious consequences. Concerning the unfairness with which labor takes advantage of the employer, Mr. Drew gives a number of pointed examples. A Boilermakers' Union gained control of the tank work in the oil fields of Oklahoma and Texas. The necessity arose for the employment of extra men, but permits to work were granted only on condition that ten percent should be deducted from the pay of the new employees and turned over to the union treasury.

Twenty labor leaders in Chicago were convicted for an unusually underhanded practice. In the words of Drew, "Plate-glass windows in business houses would be destroyed, and before the owner would be permitted to have them replaced, a certain sum must be paid to the business agent of the union. Without the permit of this business agent, the owner would be unable either to buy the necessary glass or to find workmen to handle it."

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[44] Walter Drew: The Open or Closed Shop? Booklet No.49 pub. by the National Association of Manufacturers.

Mr. Drew expresses the attitude of many employers very clearly in his statement, "Let us face the issue without hypocrisy. Organized labor to-day is a militant institution, thoroughly human and thoroughly selfish, representing no class but its own, and using every resource at its command for the advancement of its special interests. It is not a constructive, upbuilding force in industry, ... but destructive and disorganizing, lessening production, crippling progress, building up class prejudice and hate, denying freedom of opportunity, and for all this dis-service to the common good, exacting a reward fixed by its power to secure rather than by its merit to deserve."

The phrase of Mr. Drew's speech, "thoroughly human and thoroughly selfish" might, from the worker's point of view , have been applied with equal effectiveness to the speaker. We may see it in, however, a typical example of the unfortunate prejudice, distrust, and fear which tends to separate rather than unite the two groups of interest which we are tyring to consider in an impartial way. Dishonesty and unfairness, from the employer's point of view, are natural stimuli to fear, and the response often reveals the blind attempt to crush or incapacitate, which is characteristic of primitive tendencies.

4. Collective Action of the Workers.

The worker's resort to collective action has been considered as a response to fear. From the employer's point of view it is one of the strongest stimuli to fear, and one of the most commonly used. Furthermore, the effectiveness of

collective action has been responsible for wresting from the hands of employers a large percentage of the privileges and benefits now enjoyed and an attentiveness to demands which was formerly ignored. Commenting on the worker's right to strike, Bolen remarks, [45]"As one of them standing alone can be ignored by the employer, and as all acting together are scarcely as independent as he, they have no scruples against combining."

There are certain peculiarities in the worker's use of collective action, however, that make possible abuses of power which are by no means warranted. Like most corporations and governments, the unions entrust their executives with a wide range of authority. This is obviously a necessary condition, but there are two factors existing in labor combinations which distinctly offset the fair and democratic use of power normally to be expected. In the first place a great many labor leaders may be justly criticized for their tendency to be either actually dishonest, or for their inclination toward emotionalism rather than reason. The speeches of labor leaders, especially the radical type, are often of the nature of "soap-box oratory". As a result, a frame of mind is produced which is incapable of handling the delicate situations, frequently precipitated, with sufficient thought and consideration. It is to be expected that the conservative employer, fearful of the welfare of his concern, hesitates to face on equal terms men of this type. The labor leader usually holds his prestige by getting "results",

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45. George L. Bolen: Getting a Living, p. 197

and frequently, it must be admitted, trouble is voluntarily stirred up in order that he may prove his worth. The psychology of the radical labor leader is well illustrated in the speech of Leon Bremer, taken from Durant's book, Transition.[46]

"Why should we limit ourselves to peaceful means? Does the exploiter limit himself? Doesn't he hire criminals to hound out his enemies at the polls, or empty the ballot boxes into the river when the vote goes against him? Doesn't he buy up newspapers to fill the public with lies? Doesn't he pay gunmen 'detectives' to shoot down strikers in peaceful meeting? Doesn't he organize state militias and constabularies whose secret function is to keep down the working class? Doesn't he build armies and navies to grab whatever parts of the world he can get, by force or by fraud? And meanwhile he preaches Christianity to us: we are to be meek and humble of heart, and turn the other cheek. Well, we won't be fooled; we'll use words, or books, or guns, or dynamite, just as they come handy."

Here we have illustrated an elaborate defense for inferiority rather than a sober plea for activity which will promote the best interests of all concerned.

The second factor operating to the disadvantage of organized labor is the evident gullibility and blindness with which the workers often follow their leaders. An example of this is given by Bolen: [47] "In city building trades, the large power given by a union to its walking delegate or business agent,

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[46]. Will Durant: Transition, pp. 191-192.
[47]. George L. Bolen: Getting a Living, p. 207.

to call out on strike its members at work on a building, secures prompt and effectual enforcement of its rules."

Employers have frequently been harassed by troublesome employees serving as union officials, for they cannot be discharged without precipitating a strike. A good illustration of this fact is given by Tead [48] in his discussion of the labor leader's sensitiveness to the influence of the group:

"In a textile center .... the local trade union official had been discharged from the mill in which he worked, on grounds that were universally conceded to be justified. This official had boasted of his ability to 'get away with' little and careless work because of his position as president of the local union .... After giving him every chance the management finally had to let him go, whereupon he proceeded to call a strike. The employer at once called in a union official whose jurisdiction was state-wide and had him investigate the situation. The state official admitted that the local agent was in the wrong, but said that he would nevertheless have to uphold him. The only valid explanation for such conduct seems to be that the state labor organization was reluctant to do anything to displease or weaken its local branch. It was, in a word, highly sensitive to the voice of this group, while wholly disregarding the opinion or judgment of any other group in that community."

The problem of dealing with the union becomes further com-

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48. Ordway Tead: Instinsts in Industry, p. 137.

plicated because of the undue sympathy bestowed on the activities of organized labor by sections of the general public. Not only has public sentiment exerted pressure through the platform and press, but frequently sympathizers have participated in acts of violence against company property and loyal employees. An illustration of this is furnished by the latest strike of the New England Telephone Company operators. It has been my good fortune to secure a short document of first-hand information by an actual participator in the company's attempts to keep up with their service:

"It has been shown from the numerous newspaper reports and from personal conversation with parties for and against the last great telephone operators' strike that sympathizers with the strikers tried to make life miserable for those who were trying to give public service. The usual patrolling in front of telephone buildings and the underhanded intimidations and even rough treatment to men employees of the telephone company showed the fear of the strikers and their friends that the telephone company would win (as afterwards proved to be the case) and on account of this fear everything was done by the strikers that they could do to interfere with the operation of the switchboards. Numerous, one-sided, battles took place while the loyal employees were on their way to their hotels after working hours. False calls were originated repeatedly to the annoyance of the men operators and all kinds of schemes were tried to prevent the men from operating the boards. The telephone employees, on the other hand, had a good backing, felt

that they were in the right, and had nothing to fear and would not give battle to the strikers and their sympathizers. Therefore, one side became more enraged and the other maintained their calmness as the strike proceeded and finally ended, as we all know, a victory for the telephone company and incidentally a victory for the public so completely that the trick has not been tried since."

In this illustration attention may be called to the fact that the sympathizers referred to were predominantly workers themselves, for it appears that a large amount of public interest was forfeited because of the trouble existing between the two divisions of the operators' union.

A significant phenomenon may be mentioned at this time, of the apparent lack of concern which labor often manifests of the public welfare depending on their activities; also the possibility of public intervention which is disregarded. There are numerous illustrations of situations in which the operation and production of necessities have actually been taken over through the action of spirited citizens. The breaking of the last general strike in England was accomplished in this manner. Employers also exhibit the same tendency in that their fears are primarily concerned with labor, and the public becomes secondary.

B. Responses.

1. Use of Repressive Measures.

In general, it appears that the employers' response to

fear tends to be less obviously primitive than the frequent frantic and impulsive demonstrations of the workers. Because of the resources and means usually at their command and the advantages of an initially advantageous position, the employers, as would be expected, bring into play their influence on the public. Naturally enough, they frequently succeed in convincing people of the righteousness of their cause. Thus, the closed shop is often spoken of as Un-American, and the troublesome labor agitator is a radical or anarchist. It must be admitted that many injustices are committed by arousing against the workers, a public opinion created by an appeal to long accepted sentiments. But on the other hand, there is growing up an opposing group, recruited from colleges and universities, as well as the lower ranks of labor, who do not hesitate to ascribe all kinds of ulterior motives to the capitalistic class. On both sides there is the fear that breeds misunderstanding.

A brief study will be made in this section of a few general examples of repressive measures, and consideration will be given later to certain specific practices, such as the spy system and the use of black lists.

The recent activities of coal operators against the miners' unions brings to light the wide range of pressure which may be exerted. The account of Anthony Minerich [49] of the conditions which prevailed in Western Pennsylvania during July, though probably somewhat prejudiced, goes into detail in a description

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[49] Anthony Minerich: Labor Defender, vol. III, p. 7.

of brutality and cruelty. In part, he writes:

"The coal operators in their fight to smash the United Mine Workers of America, are using every institution at their command. They have an army of coal and iron police, who are commanded by the state and paid by the coal operators. They have sheriffs and deputy sheriffs. The infamous state police force is used. The militia is used to murder unarmed pickets. The schools are used to try and break the morale of the strikers. The courts are used to hand down union-breaking injunctions. And organizations like the American Red Cross are used to try and break the strike of the fighting coal miners."

The variety of agencies used to exert pressure on the miners is significant. The employing of the Red Cross and the schools, as well as state officials goes to show the prestige with which the operators had surrounded themselves.

Of a somewhat similar nature, was the use of state troops against the striking miners of the Columbine in Colorado, the justice of which has been seriously questioned. The fact that the I. W. W. was exerting considerable pressure, caused the state industrial commission to declare the strike illegal from the beginning, and alienated a large amount of sympathy which the miners might otherwise have received.

The issuing of injunctions by the courts has been frequently sought by employers to defeat the collective action of workers through legal means. It is not surprising that this practice is vigorously opposed by labor because it tends to give their opponents what they consider an unfair and un-

natural advantage. Portenar, who comments from the worker's point of view, complains:[50] ".... now it is a common practice of the courts to forbid us the exercise of ordinary natural rights. Without hesitation, judges enjoin us from leaving employment, from inducing others to enter or leave employment, from paying assessments for the maintenance of fellow members on strike; they order us to refrain from using public thoroughfares or speaking to other persons, particularly employees of a struck shop..... and when the injunction is issued, its effect is far greater than its language really warrants, for to many uneducated men it is an instrument full of vague terrors ....."

It is quite likely that Portenar believes in respecting the law, though he may question its justice. The fact remains, however, that injunctions are often entirely disregarded. Many labor leaders, as Catchings has observed [51] advise the deliberate violation of court rulings, and the result of this opposition is the alienating of public opinion. The effectiveness of the injunction is not entirely destroyed through labor's failure to observe the law.

Even the Church is used by employers as an instrument to accomplish their ends. Henry George gives in his critical analysis of the Menace of Privilege a detailed account of the dependence of many clergymen on the good will of capital. For example, he writes: [52] "It was formerly the practice in the

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[50] A. J. Portenar: Problems of Organized Labor, pp. 7-8.
[51] Waddill Catchings: Atlantic Monthly, vol. 129, pp. 218-229.
[52] Henry George, Jr.: The Meance of Privilege, p. 313.

anthracite fields for the operator to deduct a percentage of the men's wages for religion. The operator divided the aggregate sum in proportion to the respective faiths of the men, but practically selected the minister in each denomination to receive the money."

It appears that the ability to use the various agencies such as the state, press, schools, and church depends, as has been said, on an initially advantageous position, but the possibility is further increased because of the traditional belief in the natural subserviency of labor. There has always been a tendency to regard obedience and humility in the worker as greater virtues than self-assertion and pride. In the ideal state of Plato these qualities were thought highly desirable in the artisan. The tradition still survives.

2. Use of the Spy System.

Under the auspices of the Cabot Fund for Industrial Research, an investigation of industrial espionage was made by Sidney Howard, the results of which are printed in the book The Labor Spy, also in the New Republic, volumes 25 and 26. Significant facts are revealed by a searching examination of the system. Mr. Howard shows that the use of the labor spy occurs in almost every section of industry.

[53]"The employer's practice of setting spies to observe and inform on workers in factory and union has, now, every appearance

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53. Sidney Howard: New Republic, vol. 25, p. 339.

of firm establishment. It has been developing inconspicuously these many years. Only an occasional indiscretion in this place or that has ever brought it any measure of public attention. Its doings are still far from a state of ideal publicity, but recent labor disputes have so frequently encountered it, have dealt with it over so wide an area that it can no longer be considered in terms of locality, of individual industries or even of particular crises. It seems to have become something of a factor in American industry as a whole."

The establishment of the spy system usually proceeds as a result of a fairly fixed combination of circumstances. An employer finds himself facing the probability of labor trouble, or it may be that continued agitation exhausts his patience. He is afraid to deal with the union and he does not believe any satisfaction can result from attempting to convince his men of the reasonableness of his demands. In the midst of this perplexity an appeal such as the following is made to him:

[54]From Dunn's National Detective Agency, Detroit. "We are in a position to place in your plant, laborers, mechanics, clerks, bookkeepers, in fact people of any vocation to obtain information as to a forerunner of labor trouble.

"We will furnish guards on very short notice, and will break a strike in a way that will obviate the necessity of your being forced to use union or other employees not of your own choosing."

Under the pressure of the necessity of finding some solu-

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54. Sidney Howard: Op. cit., p. 341.

tion, it may be seen that an employer, even though he is opposed to the principle, may rationalize by saying that the end justifies the means. Others would do it because the unions also occasionally follow the same practice.

There are three main differences between the regular worker and the spy who is hired:

[55] "First, he receives - not at the regular window - a separate pay envelope. Second, his chief duty, for which he is often paid more than for his machine production, is to get close to the men of his department and find out what they are thinking and talking - and planning, if anything. Third, in addition to his regular check in and check out of the department, he makes a special report to the manager on what he has seen and heard ... and, not infrequently what he has thought."

It is evident from even a casual examination that a system such as this has within it the elements which make up a vicious circle, and the problem is further complicated by the low moral character of the men hired as industrial spies. Even William J. Burns, who is involved in this business, says: "As a class they are the biggest lot of blackmailing thieves that ever went unwhipped to justice."

That espionage should encourage violence is to be expected. Agents of detective agencies distributed among the working force , encourage destruction if they do not actually perform acts of violence themselves, and the episodes are usually planned to harm the interests of the workers. The result is

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55. J. W. Hayes: <u>Colliers</u>, vol. 68, p. 24.

that public support and sympathy is lost where in some cases it may be deserved. Moreover, it is in the interests of the spies to deliberately make trouble so that their services will be required.

3. Use of Black Lists.

Blacklisting is the practice of boycotting the services of men who have shown themselves to be obnoxious agitators or generally undesirable workers. Employers often keep what are politely known as employment lists of men whose activities are regarded as dangerous to the interests of organized capital. While this device is used primarily against the collective action of workers it is also used as a defense against the employment of those who are physically or mentally unfit. The black list works in co-operation with the spy system, employment bureaus, or clearance card systems, and the effectiveness of this mechanism has often hounded men relentlessly until they were compelled to change their occupation. It is not surprising that both labor leaders and labor sympathizers bitterly denounce this practice and whenever possible give publicity to the more flagrant examples. The following letter [56] from the Employers' Association of Denver was published in the Colorado Labor Advocate, November 5, 1925. It had attached to it the names of twenty-one members of the Teamsters', Chauffers', and Truck Drivers' Union, whose activities were proving obnoxious.

"To Members:-

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[56] Robert W. Dunn: Americanization of Labor, pp. 89-90.

> In order to successfully combat the growth of unionism in Denver - especially the teaming end of industry - it is necessary that the Employers' Association has the full support and co-operation of its members. This is imperative. We are doing everything in our power to secure information for our members, but it must be understood that this sort of work calls for discretion and delicate handling of the situation. One hasty move might arouse suspicion and thus spoil everything. However, our investigator has been instructed to work as fast as advisable in order that we may be in a position to make some definite move.
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> ".... If a man is discharged from your employ, kindly advise us by phone. Before hiring new men call us up and we will be glad to help you. By following this procedure, a great deal of time, money, and trouble will be saved. We urge our members to help us in this way, for unless you do, we are greatly hampered in our efforts to clear up the situation.
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> "We give below a list of the names we have been able to produce up to date, of those who have joined the local in question."

Another quotation from a letter [57] is taken from the correspondence of the Open Shop Employing Printers' Association of

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[57] Robert W. Dunn: <u>Ibid</u>., p. 93.

Chicago. The non-union employers were advised early in 1925 that "every one should be extremely careful at this time about hiring new men. Make sure of their records. While doing this don't fail to keep track of your present employees - the unions are very active. Kepp strangers out of your plant unless they are cleared with permission from this office. Take all practical precautions. An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure."

One of the most noticeable examples of the effective use of black lists occurred after the great Chicago railroad strike in 1894. [58] It was impossible for the discharged workers to obtain railroad employment to the extent that in many cases it was necessary to take up an entirely new vocation.

At the present time there is an extended blacklist of the Sacco-Vanzetti agitators. In an interview which it was my privilege to have with Professor Ellen Hayes, editor of the Relay, I was informed of the difficulties faced by those who had taken part in the demonstrations. In many cases these people have not been able to secure respectable work, and are forced into the lowest scales of employment.

It is significant that legislative action has been taken in most of the states which forbid the practice of blacklisting and makes the offense punishable by fines and imprisonment.

An illustration is taken from Chapter 6 of the Acts of 1896 for the State of Utah:

"Sec. 2. If any officer or agent of any company, corpora-

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[58] George L. Bolen: Getting a Living, p. 224.

tion or individual, or other person, shall blacklist, or publish, or cause to be published, any employee, mechanic, or laborer discharged by such corporation, company or individual with the intent and for the purpose of preventing such employee, mechanic, or laborer from engaging in or securing similar or other employment from any other corporation, company or individual, or shall in any manner conspire or contrive, by correspondence or otherwise, to prevent such discharged employee from securing employment, he shall be deemed guilty of felony, and, upon conviction, shall be fined not less than five hundred dollars and be imprisoned in the penitentiary not less than sixty days."

In spite of the measures which have been passed against this practice, however, it is, as Blum maintains, [59]"in its simple form unmolested for all practical purposes, its very nature makes it hard to detect when used by employers since exceptional secrecy may be maintained among them. It is therefore hard to arouse public opinion against the blacklist."

The effectiveness of this weapon of organized employers, as in the use of the industrial spy, can be only partially offset by any of the measures of the labor unions. The author quoted above, states that: [60] "the only union counterweapon, the employment of 'marked men' as union officials, is utterly inadequate."

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59. Solomon Blum: Labor Economics, pp. 134-135.
60. Solomon Blum: Ibid., p. 404.

Again the response of fear becomes in turn a stimulus to fear, powerful because of its effectiveness, and hated because of its secrecy. But it is not the purpose of this paper to discuss ethics; an attempt is made, instead, of explaining the nature of certain stimuli and certain responses. For both the workers and their employers the main concern is to obtain results, and how these results are to be obtained is often of secondary importance. The employer sees in the use of blacklists a practical method of avoiding the trouble of dangerous employees. There is an anticipation of possible destruction of his interests, and rather than risk this danger, he simply prefers to withhold employment from those who are distrusted. If it is fair for workers to boycott the establishments of certain employers, he reasons, is it not also fair for the employers to boycott the services of certain employees? So we find that both factions rationalize, and explain their offensive and defensive activities as necessary and also fair.

4. Collective Action.

In commenting on industrial conflict and the activities of large steel corporations directed against the open shop, an editorial writer of the New Republic states:

[61] "If unopposed or if opposed only separately and occasionally by individual employers, unionism will spread in the United States until it occupies the whole realm of industry. Its opponents cannot stop it unless they themselves combine

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61. New Republic, vol. XXV, p. 124.

more effectively than organized labor (which would not be difficult) and then use this joint power not only to stem the tide of union expansion but to break up the existing unions and to discredit the theory and practice of unionism."

Abraham Portenar, in his discussion of the evolution of trade unionism, considera that employers' associations are a natural retaliation against the acquisition of too great power by labor organizations; thus we may observe activities which are both offensive and defensive. The only way to successfully oppose national labor unions is the formation of national employers' associations. He says in part:

[62] "But the evident advantages of organization and combination could not be monopolized by one party. It is not necessary to this argument to trace in detail the forms of unionism adopted by employers, for their development is proceeding under our very eyes. It is sufficient to say that at this day the associations of employers are recovering some of the power lost by individual employers during the evolution of the unions of employees, and so long as the contest continues to be waged on the lines measurably successful in the past, so long will the wealthier, more compact, and (in everything but members) more powerful organization continue to regain what it had formerly lost. The tide of war has set the other way."

As an evidence of the aggressiveness of the American Employers' Associations, attention may be called to the frequent

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62. A. J. Portenar: Problems of Organized Labor, p. 5.

drives for open shop. The most outstanding example was at the close of the World War, when American labor had strengthened its position through Government recognition and dealings with the unions. During the industrial depression of 1920 a vigorous attack was launched against employee organizations. The great steel and coal strikes had alienated public opinion, and as Perlman remarks:

[63] "It was in an atmosphere thus surcharged with suspicion and fear that a group of employers, led by the National Association of Manufacturers and several local employers' organizations, launched an open shop movement with the slogan of an 'American Plan' for shops and industries. Many employers, normally opposed to unionism, who in the war-time had permitted unionism to acquire scope, were now trying to reconquer their lost positions."

These apparently unjustifiable attempts to crush the positive assertions of workers' rights clearly illustrate fear responses, but they should not obscure the necessity of employers' combinations for collective bargaining and co-operative enterprises; besides the "militant associations", there are "fellowship associations" and "bargaining associations".

It would be a mistake, however, to believe that there is complete harmony and agreement in the policies of all employers. Labor is not free from a conflict of practices, and there is also a division in the methods of corporations. As Ray Stannard

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63. S. Perlman: <u>Trade Unionism in the United States</u>, p. 252.

drives for open shop. The most outstanding example was at the close of the World War, when American labor had strengthened its position through Government recognition and stability within the unions. During the industrial depression of 1920 a vigorous attack was launched against employee organizations. The great steel and coal strikes had alienated public opinion, and as Perlman remarks:

21 "It was in an atmosphere thus surcharged with suspicion and fear that a group of employers, led by the National Association of Manufacturers and several local employers' organizations, launched an open shop movement with the slogan of an 'American Plan' for shops and industries. Many employers, especially the smaller, who in the war period had been forced to accept a union, were now trying to reconquer their lost positions."

These antagonistic employer attempts to crush the positive assertions of workers' rights clearly illustrate that tendency, but they should not obscure the necessity of employers' combinations for collective bargaining and co-operative enterprises; besides the 'militant associations', there are "friendly associations" and "negotiating associations".

It would be unrealistic, however, to believe that there is complete harmony and agreement in the policies of all employers, which is not free from a conflict of practices, and there is also a division in the methods of co-operation. As the [illegible]

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21. S. Perlman: Trade Unionism in the United States, p. 252.

Baker points out [64] there are: first, the conservatives, illustrated by Judge Gary who has steadily stood for an autocracy of management, benevolent perhaps, but absolute; second, the great mass of employers who recognize labor organizations only when they are compelled; third, the hopeful cases in which employers have sought by co-operation to promote the general good.

The element of fear appears to be greatest in the second classification, and least in the third, for the policy of co-operation implies a lessened suspicion of opposing interests. A benevolent paternalism assumes the attitude of superiority, and the implied inferiority of employees often becomes extremely galling where the policy is too consistently carried out.

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[64]. Ray S. Baker: <u>New Industrial Unrest</u>, pp. 58-86.

V

POSITIVE AND LEGITIMATE USES OF FEAR.

"The total elimination of fear is likely to be followed by destructive dryrot unless there can be put in place of it, organization for creating positive energies for offsetting the resultant let-down and utilizing definite constructive motives for obtaining specific rewards through the exhibition of outstanding diligence."

Whiting Williams.

"The aim of modern industry should be to get men to work as a result of positive incentives and not because of fear. Some minor forms of fear would probably be employed for many years to come but the endeavor should be made as rapidly as possible to get rid of the fear instinct in industry and cultivate the creative instinct as a means of stimulating production."

Harry W. Laidler.

"As to your question about the use of fear as a stimulus for production, I think this psychological theory is indefensible and unsound."

Ordway Tead.

The above opinions are quoted from letters kindly written in reply to the question, "Is there a place for the use of fear in stimulating production?"

If there is reason to believe that a large measure of fear exists in industrial relations, and that the influence of this emotion is to a great extent responsible for distrust, suspicion, hostility and violence, then the question may be asked, "Is there any place for fear, and is there any good use to which it may be put?" If reference is made to the workers' or the employers' fear of their own failure to act honestly and efficiently, the answer is unquestionably in the affirmative. But that is not the problem being considered. We are concerned primarily with the negative aspects of fear, and whether or not there is a place for this motive as a means of forcing or coercing men into the desired course of action. As long as there are workers and employers who will act in a reasonable way only under the influence of fear, it does not appear that it is possible to condemn it as being utterly out of place. As Mr. Laidler states, "some minor forms of fear would probably be employed for many years to come."

At present an effort should be made to get rid of unnecessary fears and fears attached to the wrong objects. Fears caused by dishonesty and unfairness should be eliminated by honesty and fairness; fears resulting from misunderstanding and prejudice should be cleared by understanding and judgment; fears caused by selfishness and unwillingness to co-operate

should be removed by intelligent generosity and willingness to co-operate. In spite of the gloominess of the situation which has been described, there are manifestations of the better qualities, and their present existence points to the possibility of their further development. Greater progress will be made when there is a better understanding of human nature, and the motives of action. The use of fear will then become less prevalent and less necessary.

Analytic studies should be made of all the great mainsprings of human action as they influence the operation of our industrial machinery, for fear alone, powerful as it is, does not account for every difficulty. Finally, the separate factors must be studied comprehensively as they blend together in the whole range of industrial problems. This, however, can be done satisfactorily only when an understanding has been obtained of the basic motives.

VI.

SUMMARY.

The new interest in industrial relations based on an attempt to understand human nature has borne fruit in many intelligent attempts to secure cooperation and enlightened leadership, but in spite of this, the present situation reveals a wide prevalence of distrust, hostility, and prejudice. It has been the purpose of this thesis to show the part played by fear in fostering the friction in industrial relations, for a better understanding of the motivating power of emotions is necessary before constructive efforts can be wisely planned.

A brief study has been made of the early fear responses of the human infant, and the part played by conditioning in acquiring new fears. The physiological changes during fear involve stimulation of the whole organism, and are accompanied by a narrowed field of consciousness. There is a close relationship between fear and other emotions, particularly anger. This fact has led to the plausibility of explaining the ultimate response on the basis of confidence.

An attempt has been made to apply the principles developed in the preliminary study of fear, by examining a group of activities and demonstrations observable in the relations of workers and their employers, as they tend to reveal the motivating force of emotion. In accordance with this plan several

fears and responses revealing fear have been considered individually according to what appear to be the dominant factors.

One of the most important of the worker's fears is the loss of status and feeling of worth. According to Whiting Williams the desire for worth is a mainspring of human action. Any factor threatening the feeling of value is necessarily regarded with apprehension.

The fear of joblessness is probably the most widespread and powerful of the forces influencing the common worker. Because of the consequences involved there is scarcely an instinctive tendency that is not concerned in the loss of a job. There is a noticeable drain on vitality when discharge is feared, or in the case of the jobless worker, when work cannot be obtained. The lives of many employees are continually made unhappy through the unnecessary harshness of the driver foreman. This representative of the company is often guilty of the abuse of power and influence.

Unfair treatment violates ethical principles and leads to distrust. The negative conditioning resulting from an employer's taking advantage of his men makes them fearful of even the obviously fair propositions.

A lowered vitality due to poor physical conditions lowers the threshold of stimulation, and danger is seen in situations which a normal person would not notice. Since the worker's main asset is his health, he usually seeks to protect himself from overwork, and secure if possible a guarantee against his inevitable old age unproductivity.

The worker's responses to fear necessarily reveal hostility toward the cause of the trouble, and often distrust. There appears to be no partiality in this matter, for workers manifest the same feelings among themselves when their interests are opposed. Their collective action is sometimes hindered by an unwillingness to combine due to mutual suspicion.

Fear influences the character of production. This is seen in voluntary withholding of effort resulting from the imagined possibility of working one's self out of a job, and in the host of restrictions desired by the unions sometimes there is a deliberate spoiling of material.

The fact that power is only to be gained through the force of numbers leads to the forgetting of differences and the combining of large numbers of workers to wrest agreements and guarantees from employers. The strike is the weapon of organized labor, and it is not surprising that workers hesitate to relinquish it, for shop councils and other controlled forms of representation do not always make possible expressions of opinion, or the carrying out of suggestions if the statement of opinion is allowed.

Having examined several examples of the action of fear on the workers, the same methods of analysis were then applied to the fears of the employer. It appears that there are two general factors of distinction which act to make the problem more complex. In the first place the emotion is probably less intense, and in the second place the manifestations are less obvious than

are the fears of the workers.

As the capitalist is primarily concerned with production, the failure of the workers to produce seems to violate a cardinal principle. Numerous restrictions placed by workers on their output involve a great economic loss. Sometimes labor retaliates for grievances by deliberately spoiling the product.

The failure of the workers to appreciate welfare work and efforts made on their behalf, causes the employer to be wary of granting privileges unless he knows that he is protected by commercial gain. In order that company equipment and property may be protected it is often necessary to resort to elaborate systems of checks and records.

Dishonesty and unfairness on the part of the workers is sometimes overlooked by the enthusiastic labor sympathizer. It is of particular concern, however, because of the unfortunate state of mind which is revealed. As the worker distrusts those who have deceived him, the employer becomes negatively conditioned in the same way.

In order to secure attention to their demands the workers resort to collective action. The labor unions become well organized under the pressure of adverse conditions, but the policy of incorporation is refused because a certain degree of immunity is thus obtained. A further danger seen in workers' organizations is the type of leadership and the blindness with which leaders are followed. A conservative employer is necessarily fearful of entrusting his interests in the hands of those who are likely to be influenced by emotion instead of reason.

In his response to fear the employer makes use of the superior resources at his command. The initially advantageous position makes possible the exerting of pressure from a number of different sources. Efforts of coal operators to crush the miners' unions have clearly shown the aid of church, school, and state. Control of the press makes possible the spread of propaganda. and the suppression of Labor's criticisms.

By means of espionage and blacklists the employer seeks to rid himself of troublesome agitators and to oppose many of the workers' attempts to secure the closed shop. If we may believe such men as Sidney Howard and Robert Dunn, these methods are not only widespread, but are frequently used with far-reaching but unfortunate results. By means of spies a strike is often broken, and by means of blacklists the striking worker is prevented from securing work.. There is evidence that these practices are sometimes responsible for violence, and the employer becomes, in a sense, the victim of the spies he has hired.

For effective retaliation against the Unions, militant Employers' Associations are formed. There have been wide spread drives against the open shop . Perlman and Dunn call attention to the open shop campaign following the War in which an attempt was made by employers to regain certain advantages lost during the period in which the unions received considerable recognition from the Government.

In the light of these considerations the question naturally follows of whether or not there are positive and legitimate uses

to which fear may be put. Whiting Williams and Harry Laidler believe that minor forms are inevitable under present conditions, while Ordway Tead thinks that there should be no place for fear as a means of control.

While the evidence appears to favor the views of Whiting Williams and Harry Laidler, there is no doubt that a great deal of constructive effort is possible in eliminating fears caused by misunderstanding and fears resulting from the unnecessary attempts to dominate. It is in the intelligent use of positive incentives that there is hope of lessening the conflict of fears in industrial relations.

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